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the cases of some men inspire the assault. We shall not be surprised if, ere the great debate on this issue closes, there are disclosures in this field that will profoundly influence the future of parties and of men in high places, and put beyond peradventure the success of the League.

Certain it is that be the outcome of the conference in Paris what it may, and unstable as the tenure of the pre-war type of European civilization seems to be now, the United States is in for a controversy between Isolationists and Expansionists, Traditionalists and Progressives, Nationalists and Internationalists, which is going to cause radical realignment of political factions and parties and influential persons, and profoundly affect the coming contest for the Presidency, as also the future course of American life. The wisest leaders of both the historic parties see the unfortunate phases and sure consequences of the trend, already apparent, to make ratification or non-ratification of the League's covenant and constitution an issue of partisanship. They deprecate the willingness of not a few public men at the present time to fan into flame smoldering race hatreds and ancient feuds, if thereby the compact being framed at Paris can be wrecked. They burn with shame as they note the bold, bald relegation of the claims of humanity to a secondary place, as some leaders of the masses prate of "America first and all the time," and urge upon the country a policy of "scuttle" from Europe, while at the same time urging collection from her of the last cent she owes. But whether the wise men of the older parties will be able to control the situation remains to be seen. It is a time of easy disintegration in morale and morals, of fears and hysteria, of facile transfer from liberalism to radicalism on the one hand and obscurantism on the other hand. Some men go to one extreme and some to the other. Others are a sort of political hybrid, with a medieval international mind and a modern conscience and will. Their altruism has geographical limits.

The position of the American Peace Society and of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* as between a narrow, static, chauvinistic conception of nationalism and a sensible interpretation and functioning of internationalism was defined long ago. On the immediate issue now before the world, namely, support of the constitution of the League of Nations essentially as it came from the conference, the President of the Society authoritatively says (page 72):

"It is a pronouncement for law as against force. It is a revolution and it will never go backwards. The millions who pay and suffer and died in war will never again consent to the methods of the thousands who benefit through war. The thousands will not give up at once or without a struggle. They will try to defeat the Great League of Nations idea. Rank, pay, and opportunity are too profitable to be surrendered without a vigorous protest.

But if they stand in the way of righteous development they will be swept into oblivion by such a tidal wave of indignation as the world has never seen. The League of Nations not only puts a formal end to the war against Germany, but it assures a suffering world that many other wars that would have come never will come."

## JURISTS OF WORLD UNITED

PARIS since December has been the place of assembly for more jurists, historians, and practical shapers of the laws of nations than previously ever met for conference, professional camaraderie, and profoundly important formal action. Europe, Asia, and the Americas have provided most of the sharers in this unusual privilege and opportunity, and they have been men of highest eminence, most of them busy in an advisory if not an administrative and legislative capacity, in connection with the proceedings of the conference. Others, however, have been mere lookers-on, students of an historic and epoch-marking talk-fest and process of super-state building, but equally eager to contribute their share to the further organization of the world and to elevation of *Law* to its rightful place in the intercourse of nations.

Therefore it has been quite natural for this group of specialists to set about organizing a union of jurists, drawn from all the continents and from many lands, which shall exist for the purpose of aiding the League of Nations after it comes into existence, as well as all other organizations, old or new, which approach the Union for counsel. Especially will it be the aim of this new organization to further the codification of international law, to make easier the administration and workings of the League of Nations by counsel when sought; and, in short, to assist society at large to live internationally according to "the progressive aspirations and universal conscience of mankind."

Membership in this new organization is to be limited, both as to the number of members and their national affiliations. Thus, nations without the League are not to be represented. Nations within the League also will differ somewhat as to their status and ratio of representation, according as they were neutral or active during the war. But, barring these limits, the new society will be representative of the best judicial opinion of the world. The American delegation is to be headed by Hon. Elihu Root. South America will have men as eminent as Senor Drago of Argentina and Ruy Barbosa of Brazil, and Europe will be worthily represented by men of the caliber of de Wiart of Belgium and Larnaude of France.

Surprising will it be if from the prolonged and to an extent enforced intimacies of the Paris Conference, there do not come into being not only innumerable personal friendships but also formal affiliations of a professional

kind such as the one alluded to above, which covers only the highly important fields of jurisprudence and of international relations on their governmental side. The surpassingly important task on which these specialists of many kinds are engaged while the peoples of the world watch has enlisted the best intellects of the time. Some of the delegates, advisers and onlookers are of a sort that have been present at such conferences from the dawn of history. Others come to the Paris Conference as pioneers. They, as well as the jurists, need to internationalize for permanent consultation and action.

### WILLIAM LADD

IN AT least two of the leading journals of the United States there have appeared during the past month elaborate summaries of the history of the evolution of the concept of an international organization to promote the welfare of a law-governed world. In them no mention has been made of William Ladd, author of "An Essay on a Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes Without Resort to Arms," which was published in 1840, at a time when Mr. Ladd was an official of the American Peace Society and editor of its official journal. The same indictment of omission must be brought against a book just published, entitled, "National Governments and the World War," written by professors in two leading American universities, and in which the part played by European jurists and publicists is fully stated.

Now, it is partially if not wholly forgivable when European interpreters of the historic movement for abolition of war fail to note the pioneering work of William Ladd, but not so when his own countrymen are concerned, and especially since it has come to pass that during the past seventy-five years the United States has played a major rôle in constructive international action, culminating in the present weight of her idealism and political and economic power, as her spokesmen shape the record now being made in Paris.

In the light of what already has been tentatively agreed upon by the Peace Conference it would repay any person who has a sense of "historicity" and who is given to studies in comparative jurisprudence to take the prize-winning essay of 1840, which Ladd wrote, and see how far, both in principle and in detail, he heralded the coming day. Such an investigator will be repaid as well as surprised.

The Congress of Nations which he desired to see brought into being and functioning was not to conceive itself to be concerned with insurrections, revolutions, or contending factions of peoples or princes, or with forms of government, but with the intercourse of nations in

peace and in war. Rights of belligerents toward each other were to be defined, as were the rights of neutrals. Agreement was to be had "on measures of utility to mankind in a state of peace," that is to say, a broad social and economic platform was to be laid for race betterment. Lastly, a court of nations was to be created, which would settle disputes according to the code of international relations defined by the congress.

Thus spake the man of vision. As a Yankee, shrewd and practical, he added:

"That this attempt at a Congress of Nations, or even a dozen more, should prove abortive on account of defects in their machinery or materials, ought not to discourage us, any more than the dozen incipient attempts at a steamboat, which proved abortive for similar reasons, should have discouraged Fulton. Every failure throws new light on this subject, which is founded in the principles of truth and equity. Some monarch, president, or statesman—some moral Fulton, as great in ethics as he was in physics, will yet arise, and complete this great moral machine, so as to make it practically useful, but improvable by coming generations. Before the fame of such a man your Cæsars, Alexanders, and Napoleons, will hide their diminished heads, as the twinkling stars of night fade away before the glory of the full-orbed king of day."

### REPARATION AND ART

ACTION taken by the Academie des Beaux Arts of France and the Conseil Supérieur des Beaux Arts of Belgium may force upon the Peace Commissioners at Paris settlement of an issue which the Italian government previously had raised by its insistence that Germany and Austria make good, so far as possible, the damage done in Venice to works of art, payment to be made in kind. What the French and Belgian art authorities request is that part of the general policy of reparation shall be a concession to the plundered nations, and to this effect; not only must works of art taken out of France and Belgium be restored when they can be, but in addition, France and Belgium must be allowed to take from German collections the equivalents in value of works of art destroyed during the recent Hun invasion. Broadly speaking, this demand already has had the formal backing of American and British art organizations, and it may be said with truth that so far as a majority of the artists and lovers of art of the nations that defeated Germany are concerned, they stand back of this appeal to the Commissioners.

Scrutiny of the history of acquisition of many of the choicest possessions in British and French national collections would disclose facts not altogether creditable